1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other
836 women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
584 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

837 It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

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that the young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,[1] savage custom of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship[2] for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châ·tnga-*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

[2] Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

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seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

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Relationships.—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

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2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire, i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire, i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt châ·tnga-* and *dōt châ·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

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he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity.

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends.

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related;[5] the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection-

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

[2] "So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner" (Brown).

[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages" (Peschel).

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able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a vengeance.[1]

4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

5. Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,[2] the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her prematrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

[1] On reference to Appendix I. it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

[2] Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.